

### **President meets a challenge**

However distasteful it may have been to him, the President's action in forcing a showdown on the excess-profits tax may well have saved his Administration from futility. To have surrendered on this issue to Chairman Daniel A. Reed of the Ways and Means Committee would have amounted to abdicating leadership in favor of the powerful heads of a dozen key congressional committees. Once he saw the danger, the President, in cooperation with the Speaker of the House, Joseph W. Martin Jr., and the Majority Leader, Charles A. Halleck, threatened to employ the unprecedented device of bypassing Ways and Means and using the Rules Committee to bring a tax bill to the House floor. Only in this way could Mr. Eisenhower circumvent Mr. Reed, who had refused to report out any kind of bill. (The chairman's tactic was tantamount to killing EPT, since that tax was due to expire automatically on July 1.) Happily, the President's threat to use the Rules Committee was enough to shift the thinking of at least four GOP members of Ways and Means and nerve them to defy their strong-willed chairman. Assured of a majority in favor of giving the House a chance to vote on the issue, Administration leaders decided on June 29 that the need for drastic measures no longer existed. This means that the Sadlak bill, extending EPT to December 31 but exempting companies earning less than \$100,000 a year, will become law before Congress quits for the summer.

### **Wheat and the taxpayers**

On June 25, the House of Representatives, in a friendly gesture to wheat farmers, approved H.R. 5451, a bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. Should there be anything like a normal yield of wheat next year, this benevolence could cost taxpayers nearly a billion dollars. Here is why. Under AAA, whenever the wheat surplus reaches unmanageable proportions—as it will this year—the Secretary of Agriculture is obliged to set the maximum number of acres which farmers may plant. This action is taken, however, with due regard for democratic niceties. Once the Secretary determines that acreage limitations are needed, the wheat farmers hold a referendum. If they favor curbs by a 2-to-1 majority, the curbs go into effect. If they don't, the Government drops the support price on wheat from 90 to 50 per cent of parity. Now we come to the heart of the matter. Under AAA, the Secretary is empowered to fix the allotment as low as 55 million acres. Arguing that the farmers would vote down such a drastic cut—they planted 78 million acres this year—the farm bloc in the House sponsored H.R. 5451, which ups the minimum allotment for the 1954 crop from 55 to 66 million acres. If the reader will figure the cost of supporting at \$2.18½ a bushel the wheat normally grown on 11 million acres, the answer will be close to a billion dollars. Is it merely coincidental that congressional elections are due in 1954?

## **CURRENT COMMENT**

### **Let's welcome freedom's friends**

Thanks to the personal intervention of President Eisenhower and the courageous leadership of Senator Watkins, chairman of the Judiciary subcommittee on immigration, Congress will have a chance to vote on the President's proposal to permit the admission of 240,000 Europeans on an emergency basis during the next two years. On June 29 the full Judiciary Committee set July 8 as the date for voting on the bill. While it is expected that it will be reported favorably, Washington observers remain bearish about its fate on the floor. We do not share their doubts. The bill has impressive support in both the Congress and the country. Among its 17 cosponsors are Senators Wiley, Taft, Dirksen, Aiken, Ives, Saltonstall, Flanders, Carlson and Bridges. Accredited spokesmen of the major Catholic, Jewish and Protestant organizations have jointly testified in its favor. The American Committee on Special Migration, comprising 32 welfare organizations, supports it strongly. To make sure of its passage, these groups will no doubt rally behind the President and Mr. Watkins when the measure reaches the floor. With more and more anti-Communists escaping from their harassed masters, the importance of this measure to our foreign policy should become more evident. The President may be expected to emphasize this truth at the appropriate time.

### **Religious tensions**

A rather optimistic statement of the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews issued on June 28 reports that the last twelve months have seen more cooperation among the leaders and institutions of religion and less overt conflict than the preceding year. The Commission stressed the continuing need to find ways for harmonious living by the nation's diverse religious and racial groups. Perhaps the reason why things are relatively quiet is that the open conflicts occasioned by the Federal-aid controversy, Blanshard's book on the American Hierarchy, and the Vatican appointment have subsided—and perhaps cleared the air somewhat. But tensions are still strong, even if latent. They appear in the convention statement of the Reform Rabbinical group, June 24, criticizing American Protestantism for supporting released-time religious education programs. Open bitterness characterized the resolution of the

Missouri Lutheran Synod, June 26, assailing the promises required by the Catholic Church for mixed marriages as a practice which "condemns unborn children to the soul-destroying religion of the anti-Christ." Differences among religious groups are understandable; acrimony is not. Pius XII calls on all who believe in God, the "partisans" of God, in his phrase, to unite and collaborate for the renewal of society in the face of materialism and secularism founded on unbelief in God.

### ***Behind the anti-Soviet riots***

The worker-led riots in Czechoslovakia and East Germany gave Titoists a great chance to insist again that they, not the Kremlin, are the true exponents of Marxist orthodoxy. To Dr. Edvard Kardelj, second in rank to Marshal Tito and the leading Marxist theoretician in Yugoslavia, the riots mark the end of Soviet pretensions to be the leader of world Socialist and worker movements. What the Czech and German workers were up to, he recently explained in *Borba*, official Communist organ, was not "counter-revolution," but a struggle to achieve socialism. In non-Marxist language, this means that the workers were not fighting to restore the dispossessed bourgeoisie, but to achieve the aims of the Marxist revolution which Stalin and his henchmen have destroyed. They were rebelling, not against communism, but against "state capitalist bureaucratic despotism," into which communism in Russia has degenerated. In Dr. Kardelj's judgment, these worker revolts are the most important event in the Marxist world since Tito broke with Stalin in 1948. He may be right, as he is undoubtedly right in interpreting the worker riots as rebellion against the Kremlin. It seems to us far-fetched, however, to see in them a revolutionary surge toward Marxian socialism. All the reports of the riots we have seen indicate that the motives urging on the workers were shorter hours and better pay, a hunger for freedom and an old-fashioned nationalistic desire for German unity. But such motives don't fit neatly into Marxist pigeonholes.

### ***Jerusalem: symbol of fear***

It has become standard practice for Israeli Government spokesmen, when discussing the internationaliza-

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tion of Jerusalem, to treat as nonexistent all interest but their own. Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett proved no exception when he spoke before the Knesset on June 23. Israel would agree, said Mr. Sharett, to international supervision of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, but would stand unalterably opposed to the internationalization of the city itself. Jerusalem must remain the Israeli capital. Israel takes this self-regarding position in spite of the UN resolutions asking for the internationalization of Jerusalem and repeated Vatican statements, worthy of at least being noticed by Israel, that internationalization would provide the only guarantee for the protection of the Holy Places. The issue is not one of merely placing the shrines sacred to three world religions under some form of international supervision. Such shrines exist all over Palestine—in Nazareth, Tiberias and Hebron, as well as in Jerusalem. The problem is one of removing from Old and New Jerusalem the police power and government control which not only prevent access to the Holy Places but also strangle the city's economy. Furthermore, Jerusalem, which bristles today with barbed-wire barricades and muskets separating father from son and farmer from his field, is an affront to Christian, Mohammedan and Jew alike. There will be no true peace in the Middle East until this tragic symbol of man's hatred and fear of his fellow-man is removed.

### ***Return of the Finaly orphans***

Last week in France, the extraordinarily delicate case of the Finaly children seemed on the way to settlement. The case revolved around two orphaned Jewish children who had been baptized and raised as Catholics after their parents had died in a Nazi concentration camp. The children eventually turned up in Spain. Catholic authorities appealed for their return. Only a few weeks ago Père Pierre Chaillet, S.J., representing Cardinal Gerlier of Lyons, hotly denied charges by the Grand Rabbi of France that the Church was not keeping its promises to search for the Finaly pair. The two boys, Robert, 12, and Gerald, 11, were returned to France on July 26. An agreement reached among the parties concerned on March 8 stipulated, among other things, that the children would remain free from pressure as to religion and, if brought to Israel (where their aunt, to whom the courts gave custody, now lives) would get a French education. Cardinal Gerlier said it is now only a question of carrying out by common accord the agreement drawn up to "safeguard the spiritual interests of the children, while respecting all legitimate rights and with human understanding of the present situation." Jewish authorities were of the same opinion, added the Cardinal of Lyons. (At Estes Park, Colo., the Central Conference of American Rabbis expressed its satisfaction in a resolution, paying especial tribute to the "role played by responsible Roman Catholic officials in effectuating termination of this *cause célèbre*.")

## "BOOK-BURNING": SMOKE WITHOUT LIGHT

The hue and cry about "book-burning" has aroused impassioned pronouncements but has contributed very little enlightenment on the problem at hand. The problem, of course, is that of establishing proper criteria for selecting books and periodicals for some 188 overseas libraries conducted by the U. S. Government. The number of books involved runs into the hundreds of thousands, plus a million periodicals.

This program of the U. S. Information Service is one of five operated under the International Information Administration in the State Department. The other four deal with broadcasting (the Voice of America), the press, films and the Educational Exchange Service. These are all under the Administrator of IIA.

### WHY THE EXCITEMENT?

The reason for the recent hubbub is that Senator McCarthy came to the conclusion that "there are 30,000 [books] by Communist authors" in USIS libraries overseas. He reached this conclusion after sending two investigators on a quickie tour of the libraries in Western Europe and (up to the beginning of last week) after taking testimony of a score of authors represented on the shelves. (The June 28 N. Y. Times quoted this seemingly high figure.) In any case, his determination to force the State Department to weed out volumes by Communist and pro-Communist writers hardly seems to explain the fuss.

What seems fairly clear is that the State Department got the jitters when Mr. McCarthy started his probe of USIS. Perhaps the reason was the lack of familiarity with the whole program on the part of new appointees, and the fear that the Senator might uncover a scandal. From the June 20 survey in the N. Y. Times, which had its correspondents in 20 capitals get what information they could from USIS librarians, it seems that the librarians had received six separate directives since February 19.

The first directive impressed the librarians as very vague. The second, on March 17, cautioned them to use "matter produced by Communists or their agents or sympathizers . . . with great care," i.e., only when such writings would be useful "to confound international communism with its own words." Otherwise, writings by Communists should be banned. An April 23 directive called for the removal of works by authors who had invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked if they were or had been Communists. A May 13 directive specified those authors who had refused to answer before the Senate Investigating subcommittee headed by Senator McCarthy. Two days later librarians were told to store, not destroy, such writings.

### WHO WERE BANNED?

The Times survey revealed that only one directive had specifically listed (16) banned authors—without listing their banned writings. They included Earl

Browder, Howard Fast, Philip S. Foner, Dashiell Hammett and Lawrence K. Rosinger. How important it is to rule out non-Communist works by Communists, e.g., Hammett's detective stories or Foner's edition of Tom Paine, can be questioned.

Some books already banned in one or other library have raised more serious questions, e.g., Bert Andrews' *Washington Witch Hunt*, Alan Barth's *Loyalty of Free Men*, former Ambassador Joseph Davies' *Mission to Moscow*, Clarence Streit's *Union Now* and Walter White's *The Rising Wind*.

All in all, according to State Department testimony on June 25, over 300 book titles by about 18 authors have been removed under specific directives. One directive excluded books by "controversial" writers, and the March 17 directive is said to have barred books by "Communists, fellow-travelers, et cetera"—whatever that means. The Times showed librarians here and there had junked books by about 40 authors.

The State Department's jitters may have prompted President Eisenhower to tee off at "book-burners" in his Dartmouth speech of June 14. Three days later he practically withdrew his statement. In his June 24 letter to the American Library Association, however, he again criticized those who "would try to defend freedom by denying freedom's friends the opportunity of studying communism in its entirety."

### CHANGED PURPOSES OF USIS

Perhaps one can make sense of all this by recalling the changing purposes of our postwar overseas information services. In 1945 President Truman defined its purpose as that of giving other peoples a "full and fair picture" of American life. Putting some books by U. S. left-wingers on the library shelves, as things then stood, would not seem out of place.

By 1948, however, our foreign-policy objectives had greatly changed. Congress set up the present program, though still with very general objectives. In actual administration, however, USIS, together with similar programs under ECA and MSA, became a tool of our new foreign policy. If some books thought useful under the older program have remained on the shelves, they can easily be weeded out—without any "book-burning."

Since we know that those who frequent the libraries are mostly professional people, the more mature and sophisticated we are about selecting books, the better, at least where people expect us to be sophisticated. Overseas officers should be allowed more flexibility to adapt the whole program to regional needs. Perhaps under Reorganization Plan No. 8, by which the President would set up a separate U. S. Information Service outside the State Department, this can be done. Meanwhile, more serious study of ends and means is what the program needs. It will hardly get it, one feels, from the Senate Investigating subcommittee.



## WASHINGTON FRONT

Anxiously, after so many years of combating communism, Washington is looking beyond the Iron Curtain to Eastern European unrest and asking: Is it the real thing? Among President Eisenhower's aides are men bold enough to think this could be a turning point. Some say this Government's best information is that most of the Red satellites are held only tenuously and that a majority of people in them is against rule from Moscow. Urging Senate acceptance of the foreign-aid bill, Sen. Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, who presumably is in touch with the State Department, emphasized the possibility that Russian control might be beginning to crumble.

"The powder keg of subjugated peoples could blow sky-high overnight," he said.

There are Government foreign-affairs people who take as a measure of the magnitude of Russian trouble in the satellites the readiness of the Reds to negotiate a Korean treaty despite obstacles raised by Syngman Rhee. They surmise that only because Moscow has its hands so full in Europe has it not denounced Mr. Rhee's release of war prisoners more stridently and used it as reason for throwing over the whole truce idea.

U. S. overseas broadcasts are trying to keep all Eastern Europe informed on rioting and other evidences of unrest which occur. They have stressed particularly the East German cry for "free elections." Where the Russians make concessions in working conditions in one place, the attempt is to get that story told and to sprout the idea all through the satellites. Much significance is attached to reports of refusal by Communist military forces to fire on workers in Germany and Poland.

One official has said that after East Germany, feeling is highest in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania. But there has been at least minor trouble in Bulgaria and it is reported now that little Albania was "ripe for picking" right after the death of Stalin. The Communists have charged the United States with fomenting trouble, but officials here deny it and say the East German uprising was a complete surprise. They say a danger of encouraging revolt among Iron Curtain countries is that it always suggests retaliatory action by the Red Army, never far away. The result could be thousands killed or long, harsh military occupation by the Reds.

Food shortages growing out of poor crops, high prices, rationing, attempts at industrial speed-up—these are among causes of unrest; and in many areas, too, persecution of the Catholic Church and anti-Semitism. Whether the revolt is to become historic any time soon can be only a guess. But Washington watches and hopes.

CHARLES LUCEY

## UNDERSCORINGS

A U. S. District Court has ordered the ending, after October 23, of racial segregation in public housing under control of the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority, states a June 26 NC dispatch from that city. A decision last Jan. 8 by the TMHA to abandon segregation was protested by a number of citizens. The Board of Community Relations appointed a subcommittee of five, including Msgr. Michael J. Doyle, secretary for Catholic Charities, to study the matter. The subcommittee approved the TMHA decision, which was also supported by church and labor spokesmen and the press. A test case brought against THMA in Federal Court ended in the decision banning segregation.

► Most Rev. M. Joseph Lemieux, Bishop of Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan, has been appointed Archbishop of Ottawa, the Apostolic Delegation at Ottawa announced on July 1. He succeeds the late Archbishop Alexandre Vachon, who died March 30. Archbishop Lemieux was appointed Bishop of Sendai, Japan, in 1936, became Administrator Apostolic of Gravelbourg in 1942 and its bishop in 1944.

► Rev. Gerald Kelly, S.J., professor of moral theology at St. Mary's College, Kansas, has been selected by the Catholic Theological Society of America as the 1953 recipient of the Cardinal Spellman Award for outstanding achievement in the field of theology. The selection was made at the society's eighth annual convention, held in Baltimore, Md., June 22-24. The award will be conferred in November, on the occasion of the annual meeting of the U. S. hierarchy.

► The Turkish Government will issue on Aug. 15 a series of postage stamps commemorating the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Some of the stamps will carry a picture of the remains of Ephesus, the city where, according to an ancient tradition, the Apostle St. John spent the last years of his life. Another tradition assigns Ephesus as the place whence the Blessed Virgin was assumed into Heaven. The latter tradition, however, according to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "rests on no ancient testimony."

► The John Boyle O'Reilly Committee for Interracial Justice, an Irish-American group in New York, on June 29 affixed to the exterior of St. Peter's Church, Barclay St., a bronze plaque in honor of Pierre Toussaint, a Negro Catholic layman who died June 28, 1853. Born a slave in Haiti in 1766, he was brought to New York by his owners in 1787, and was a member of St. Peter's parish from that time until his death. He died widely respected by Catholics and non-Catholics alike for his exemplary life and works of charity. His life has been sketched in a booklet just published by Arthur and Elizabeth Sheehan (Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7: 10c; 12 for \$1). C. K.



## Agenda for "little Bermuda"

Secretary Dulles' announcement on June 30 that the Big Three foreign ministers would begin talks July 10 in Washington happily ended weeks of confusion about the Big Three, and possibly even Big Four, talks.

Ironically enough, it now appears that M. Bidault, French Foreign Minister whom the British and Americans at first tried to freeze out of the meeting, will hold the center of the stage in Washington. According to Mr. Dulles, separate British-American and Franco-American talks will be held, besides the tripartite sessions. Since he mentioned only two topics for discussion—the Indo-China situation and the coordination of Allied policy in relation to the dramatic developments in East Germany—it is safe to assume that the Franco-American meetings will be by far the more important.

They could help us, in fact, to bring our European policy abreast of the fast-marching developments. A vast amount of rethinking is urgently needed, so we hope that the talks will not be so "informal" as the first White House statement indicated.

The charge has been frequently made that the United States has no alternative policy on Germany in case the European Defense Community project, integrating 12 West German divisions in the common six-nation army, should fall through. The experts are now agreed that EDC faces indefinite postponement, at least. As long as German reunification is in the air, no true German, they claim, will cling to the idea of a permanently partitioned West Germany playing a minor role in any defense community. They would disagree with Ambassador Conant's assertion on June 30 that there was "no contradiction between Germany's reunification and the objectives of the EDC." Russia would certainly see one, as would France, which objects even to the participation of partitioned Germany.

If even the prospect of German reunification dooms EDC to indefinite postponement, how does the United States propose to fit Germany into the European picture? It cannot remain in a vacuum. As recently as February 18 Walter Lippmann made this charge in his New York *Herald Tribune* column:

In Washington, in Paris, even I believe in London, except as Churchill is playing by ear, in Rome and in Bonn, there is apparently no policy, no planning, not even some leading idea, on what to do in case the Soviets have decided to bring about the unification of Germany . . .

Mr. Lippmann did not mention Strasbourg, where leaders of the European Movement seem to have evolved a plan for what Mr. Lippmann demands: "the substantial liberation of Eastern Europe within an all-European system."

The new European policy project, drawn up by Eugen Gogon, chief planner of the European Movement, is described by Volney D. Hurd in the June 30 *Christian Science Monitor*. Assuming the unification

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of Germany, it provides for her inclusion in the projected European Political Community. Multiple Locrano-type agreements involving both the United States and Great Britain would guarantee Russia and France against German aggression. A federation of the (former) Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe would parallel the European federation, and both would be joined with the nonfederated European states "under the over-all roof of the Council of Europe."

M. Bidault should be invited to explain the Kogon plan, which has the support of Henri Spaak of Belgium, M. Reynaud of France and, we suspect, of Sir Winston Churchill. If "the mold of our present European policy is broken," as Mr. Lippmann contends, we should try to fashion a new one in close concert with our European friends, many of whose present problems derive from our having "gone it alone" in demanding prematurely the rearmament of the Germans.

## Rhee on a divided Korea

After a week of conferences with Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson, Syngman Rhee remained as determined as ever in opposing the Korean armistice terms. On June 30 it was reported that the South Korean President was holding out for a commitment that we join him in all-out war, if, ninety days after a cease-fire, the post-truce political conference had failed to unify his country. In other words, he was demanding that we underwrite his determination—militarily as well as politically—to achieve the unification of Korea.

Syngman Rhee, however, has not always so stubbornly opposed a divided Korea. While Mr. Robertson was apparently vainly trying to moderate the South Korean President, one of the few Korean participants in the conference at Seoul, Acting Prime Minister Pyun Yung Tai, had a book published in the United States. The volume, *Korea—My Country*, contains passages which cut the ground out from under the doughty President's position on a Korean cease-fire.

Throughout its 176 pages *Korea—My Country* is a defense of the policies of Syngman Rhee from the days of Korea's liberation from the Japanese occupation in 1945. Of particular interest is a chapter in which Dr. Pyun takes to task an article by Gordon Walker in the January 27, 1948 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*. At a time when Dr. Rhee was most anxious to get rid of the American Military Government in Korea to supplant it with his own regime,

Mr. Walker had sharply criticized him for "urging," in effect, a *divided* Korea.

But that was not the point at all, explains Pyun Yung Tai. Dr. Rhee was not urging a divided Korea. He was accepting it as inevitable:

In the first place Mr. Walker, too, must acknowledge the fact that Soviet Russia, incidentally through the instrumentality of the United States, split Korea with serious intentions without waiting for Dr. Rhee's "urging." Russia is not a nation to be "urged" into anything, far less "urged" out of it, if not indeed atom-bombed out. The split is not such a tentative business as to be "urged" on or off by Dr. Rhee. He simply suggested the best possible *modus operandi* under the existing situation, for which he is not in the least responsible and over which he has no power.

Does Dr. Rhee now seriously believe that a divided Korea has suddenly become a "tentative business," a situation "to be urged off" by him? Does he now maintain that a unified Korea under his political hegemony can be "urged on" Russia without resorting to the atomic warfare against the Soviets which the free world justifiably fears? What has happened in the last five years to suggest that, under the existing circumstances, a Korea divided is no longer the best possible "*modus operandi*"?

We deeply sympathize with Syngman Rhee's determination to unify his people under one government. At the same time, when faced with the risk of an all-out global war as the only possible alternative to the present split, a risk which Dr. Rhee himself recognized five years ago, the free world is only being realistic in expecting him to subordinate his political ambitions to the international common good and the interests of collective security.

The reasons which impelled the South Korean President to accept a divided Korea in 1948, when it was convenient for him to do so, are just as valid today. They are more so, since Red China's vast hordes, not a North Korean puppet army, now stand ready to block unification under Syngman Rhee's regime. We do not accuse Dr. Rhee of opportunism. More than anything else he probably miscalculated American readiness to risk attaining his aims by war.

## Our "groaning" economy

As will be clear from remarks elsewhere in this issue, this Review is happy over President Eisenhower's victory in the fight over the excess-profits tax. The dimensions of his triumph can, however, be easily exaggerated. What the President was struggling to achieve was not a tough-minded tax policy aimed forthrightly at balancing the budget, dampening such inflationary smudges as remain, discouraging defense profiteering and, in general, putting the fiscal affairs of the Government in shipshape condition. The harassed Mr. Eisenhower was merely fighting a delaying rearguard action. He was trying to slow down the advocates within his own party of "soft" defense

and foreign-aid programs and a precipitate return to something like normalcy.

We do not mean to say that the President himself favors a weak defense establishment, or is prepared to throw off the financial burden of underwriting the rearmament of the free world. Neither can he be justly charged with indifference to inflation, a sound currency and a balanced budget. On all these matters he is on the side of the wise and farsighted, on the side of those, that is, who give the primacy today to national defense and rate the condition of their pocketbooks a matter of secondary concern.

Nevertheless, the President appears to have accepted a large part of the thesis—popular among businessmen and the well-to-do—that Government spending for defense and foreign aid, and Government taxing to pay the bill, are exerting a dangerous strain on the economy and thus sapping the basis of our national strength. This explains Mr. Eisenhower's own reductions in the defense budget, which, he hopes, go far enough to placate the economizers, but not so far as to threaten the nation's security. This explains, too, why the President is prepared to fight to extend the excess-profits tax for six months, but is also willing to let it expire on December 31, along with the increase in personal-income taxes voted to finance rearmament after Korea. Though we have an actual deficit of \$9.3 billion this fiscal year, and anticipate a deficit of at least \$5 billion in fiscal 1954, he feels that some easing of the tax burden is necessary to keep corporations and individuals from breaking under the load of defense and foreign aid.

This solicitude for the health of the economy seems to us exaggerated. The Federal Reserve Board's index of production stood at 241 during the second quarter of this year. This was a point higher than it reached during the first quarter. Even if the index drops somewhat during the last half of the year, the average for the twelve months will be at least 235. In 1948, the production barometer registered only 192, and even in the boom years of 1950 and 1951 it hit no more than 220. In other words, except for abnormal World War II years, the U. S. economy is producing more goods and services today than ever before.

Does this look like an economy groaning under the strain of the defense effort? Does it look like an economy in which producers and investors are quitting on the job because taxes have dulled their initiative and incentive to work?

No doubt there is a point beyond which defense expenditures and heavy taxes would damage our economy. We can scarcely be said to have reached that point, however, so long as the defense budget takes only one-tenth of our annual production. And that is all the President, in his budget recommendations, planned that it would take. At the present level of production and income, he need not be so solicitous about the impact of taxes on pocketbooks, and on the economy generally. We can afford all the defense and foreign aid the country needs for its security.

## Earl Jowett on the Hiss case

Douglas Hyde

IN 1535 the name of a Lord Chancellor of England, Sir Thomas More (now a saint of the Church), was on every Englishman's lips in connection with a trial in which the key witness was a perjurer named Rich, later described as "one of the most odious names in the history of the age." The man on trial—who was subsequently condemned to death and executed—was the Lord Chancellor himself, who in court denounced Rich for the perjurer that he was.

Today the name of a successor in office of St. Thomas More, Earl Jowett, a former Lord Chancellor of England, is in the news, in connection with a trial in which perjury also featured prominently. The trial, however, was an American, not an English one, and the Lord Chancellor comes into it only because he has just written a book called *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953).

It is unlikely that Lord Jowett will be executed on Tower Hill, as was his illustrious and saintly predecessor. But a lot of people in America are going to demand his blood after they read his book. For the noble earl has taken the whole of the evidence in the Hiss case, brought to bear upon it the mind of an advocate and lawyer—and has come down on the side of Hiss.

He has done so, convinced that his approach is an entirely detached, objective and legalistic one. He presumably believes that studying the evidence several thousand miles away from the heat of the battle gave him a better chance of arriving at the truth than the court had which found Hiss guilty against a background of public controversy, press and television publicity and political prejudice.

But while reading his book I found myself, as an ex-Communist, examining his examination of the evidence. And I came to the conclusion that, despite all his belief in his own objectivity—or perhaps even partly because of it—he never fully understood what the case was about.

Unable to assess in the round the personalities of the principal actors in this greatest of modern human dramas, he had to base his evaluation of the evidence before him upon the credibility of the witnesses. To be able to do that with any chance of success, it was necessary to understand them as persons. Which means understanding Communists and communism.

In his book the worthy Earl Jowett never gets within a thousand miles of that—precisely, on the one hand, because of those thousands of miles of Atlantic Ocean which separated him physically from the conspiracy upon which the case turned, and, on the other, because

*The American publication of The Strange Case of Alger Hiss, by Earl Jowett, former Lord Chancellor of England, who showed strong pro-Hiss leanings, was suddenly postponed by Doubleday and Company from May 21 to July 17. The postponement caused no small stir, though we understand the revision was concerned with very minor matters, not touching the main argument. We offer a review of the English edition by Douglas Hyde, British ex-Communist.*

the warm-blooded though dangerous emotions of the two men who worked together in the Communist underground and then faced each other years later in the courtroom (Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers) were remote from his own coldly legal brain.

Lord Jowett first became interested in the case when he was still Lord Chancellor in the second Socialist Government. A full transcript of the second trial of Alger Hiss was sent to him. He read it, found it interesting, then put it aside until he had more time to study it. With the defeat of the Government of which he was a member and the victory of Winston Churchill, he got that time. The result is this book. It is, I believe, a sincere effort by an honest man to arrive at the truth about something which puzzled and disturbed him.

It would be quite wrong to conclude that because Lord Jowett was a member of a Socialist Government, he is therefore predisposed toward Communists or crypto-Communists. He has always been a lawyer first and a politician second. Indeed, the Communists and the left wing of the Socialist party have sniped at him for years because by no stretch of the imagination could he be described as a Socialist at all. He is in outlook and in practice an old-type Liberal. The only point at which his so-called socialism colors his approach to his examination of the evidence is here: like others in the right wing of the British Labor party, he believes that he knows all about the Communists, that they are a much overrated and unimportant crowd who take themselves a great deal too seriously and who are best ignored.

With that ideological background, he read the documents he had put aside until he had some peace and quiet. Right from the start, Whittaker Chambers defeated him—which is not astonishing, since the personality of that very complex, highly-charged human being has defeated a good many others besides Earl Jowett. But in this case he was defeated by Chambers because he thought he could understand him.

Whittaker Chambers' melodramatic approach to life (easily and conveniently explained by his macabre childhood), his highly-colored evidence, his pumpkin microfilms, his Messianic propensities, his emotion-charged autobiography, all added up to someone whom Earl Jowett thought he knew of old. He thought he recognized in Chambers the witness who embroiders and embellishes every bit of evidence he is called upon to give in a court of law, the habitual "romancer," the man incapable of distinguishing between the realities of his experience and the fantasies of his daydreams. What he overlooked—or was incapable by



his outlook and training of comprehending—was that, added to all those other aspects of the Chambers' personality, Chambers was an ex-Communist.

I'll confess that I, too, when I first started following the Hiss case, found Whittaker Chambers difficult to swallow, just as my hackles were up when I started reading *Witness*. Even though that book for me, by the time I had finished reading it, clearly carried the hallmark of greatness, even though it was obvious that it would bring a lot of good people down on the side of Christian values, it still troubled me a lot.

Chambers tells us of his love for the books of Maxim Gorky. Read Gorky's story of his fantastic early years and then read Chambers on his, and you find it is pure Gorky. That may be evidence that, probably without realizing it, Chambers assimilates the experiences of others and then makes them his own. Or it may simply be that Gorky appealed to him precisely because of what they had in common. I wouldn't know. But that was just one of many things that made me examine his credibility very closely.

But what is for me the most baffling thing of all is this. Despite all his melodramatics, Chambers' story of his experiences in the Communist underground rings true. The apparatuses he describes are like ones I knew. The form of organization is what is used here in England, too.

The sort of circle to which he said Hiss belonged was just the sort I would expect any Communist higher civil servant to be put into. And Hiss was the sort of person I'd expect to find there. There is a notable absence of embroidery when Chambers speaks of these matters—and it is precisely here that his credibility matters most.

Earl Jowitt can see none of that. He overlooks the appalling complexity of the human personality. Of Chambers he writes:

Having read his book, and having studied his evidence both before the House Committee and at the second trial, I think it unlikely that a jury would think it safe to place reliance on any statement made by Whittaker Chambers unless it was corroborated. Anybody may be excused for giving a story a "new hat and stick," if I may borrow the phrase from Sir Walter Scott; but with Whittaker Chambers the desire to embroider and embellish is so transcendent that I do not believe he knows when he is leaving the straight and narrow path of truth.

In other words, Earl Jowitt practically rejects in advance the whole of Chambers' evidence, including what are to me the quite obviously genuine parts. He adds, and here speaks the cold lawyer and judge: "I distrust his judgment—and his evidence—just because it is so passionate". In other words, he allows his distrust of Chambers as a type he dislikes to color

his approach to the evidence of Chambers the Communist, whom he can't understand.

"The lying on one side or the other" he writes, "was not slight or trivial, it was massive and monumental." If Hiss was innocent, then Chambers lied. And if he lied, says Lord Jowitt, "he was guilty of an act of almost unparalleled wickedness." Since his conclusion is that no British jury would have found Hiss guilty on the available evidence, and that his guilt was not fully established in the American court, then, it would seem, he has virtually found Chambers guilty of that "act of almost unparalleled wickedness."

But the circumstantial evidence—as opposed to his distaste for Chambers—upon which he bases his conclusion is revealing. He is, for example, much swayed by Chambers' inability to recall whether Donald Hiss held a party card and if so whether he ever collected party dues from him.

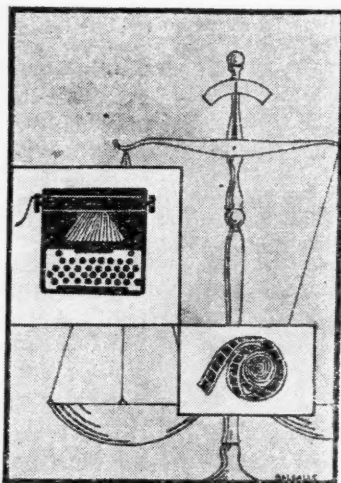
"No one could forget whether he had or had not been a member of a Communist group," he writes indignantly; "nor could he forget whether he had paid his Communist dues to that group; still less could the man whose task it was over a period of time to collect those dues forget the persons from whom, or the circumstances under which he collected them." This is pure fantasy. It might be true of membership of the British Labor party. It most certainly is not

true of Communism in practice.

I am by temperament and background, I should imagine, very unlike Whittaker Chambers. But I can say that though I led the work of a semi-under-cover Communist journalists' group on London's Fleet Street at one time, I would now find it very difficult, after a lapse of some years, to say who was and who was not a card-holder and just who paid their party dues to me and who did not. The fact is that there are many people, even in the relative above-ground, or at any rate strictly legal, section of the party, who, for obvious reasons, pay no party dues or, if they do, pay them to someone outside their group. The line of demarcation between those nearest to the party and those actually in it is an invisible one.

Circumstantial details which seem commonplace to the ex-Communist seem incredible to the former Lord Chancellor. To him treason is so appalling that he cannot believe that anyone could see it as other than a crime akin to murder, and that Hiss, therefore, would seek to cover himself as does the perpetrator of a planned murder.

But every Communist lives on the fringes of illegality. The law and the officers of the law are to him just part of the coercive class machinery of the bourgeois state against which he is fighting. He is outside—and above—the capitalist law. His activities shade off so naturally, so imperceptibly from legality into illegality



that not only will he draw no distinction between them, he will not even be conscious of where the one ends and the other begins. The difference between turning over to the party a confidential document from a Government department and passing a security document to the Soviet espionage system is only one of degree. He will not even stop to consider the difference since, molded as he is by his Marxism, he will have no sense of guilt anyway.

It is the murderer who knows himself to be guilty who goes to pains to conceal his knife or gun. So when Earl Jowitt argues that had Hiss been guilty, he would not have been so stupid as to lose track of his car and typewriter, he fails to comprehend that profoundly important aspect of Communist psychology. If Hiss did what Chambers said he did, he would *not* feel like a murderer. He would not be conscious of any sense of guilt, and so he would not be preoccupied with how to conceal the "incriminating instrument." He would, in fact, feel most virtuous about what he was doing in the cause of humanity. And that, as the FBI must know from experience, does lead to a certain amount of carelessness on the part of Communists.

These are but details in Earl Jowitt's approach to the evidence. But they are revealing ones, as is his comment in passing that he doubts whether there are any "parlor Bolsheviks" left today. In actual fact, the "peace" movement throughout Western Europe is full of them.

In *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss*, the lawyer-author plays the role of judge. Now it is the duty of a judge to be impartial and to divest himself, so far as he is able, of all personal preferences and prejudices. This Lord Jowitt has notably failed to do. From the start his dislike of Chambers colors his whole approach to the case.

There may be some in the United States who will go so far as to think that the long arm of Alger Hiss has reached across the Atlantic, and that the former Lord Chancellor has fallen prey to the Communists or fellow travelers. Certainly, in some respects he plays into the Communists' hands. But in my view this is not due to any pro-Communist sympathies on his part. It reflects the dilemma of the modern liberal who, with little to guide him but his own feelings, finds it easy to sympathize with Hiss and impossible to do anything but suspect Chambers. Such a man is totally incapable of understanding what Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers symbolize in this mid-twentieth-century world.

Publication of Lord Jowitt's book has created a greater interest in the case here in Britain than has been shown by the public at any time during or since the trial which ended with the disgrace and imprisonment of Alger Hiss. Indeed, one might say that the case here has had something of the nature of a delayed-action bomb. But now that the bomb has gone off, its repercussions may be considerable. They will be increased when the English edition of *Witness* appears in a few weeks time.

And for that arousing of public interest we must be thankful. For though there are many here, as in America, who are disturbed at the more extreme manifestations of the U. S. reaction to the Communist danger, there are still more who need to be reminded of the essentially subversive and conspiratorial character of all that the party does.

In his homily at the canonization of St. Thomas More, Pope Pius XI said that the Lord Chancellor of sixteenth-century England "resisted the new errors with unflinching spirit." The former Lord Chancellor of mid-twentieth-century England has, I fear, notably misunderstood the new errors which threaten us today.

## *Let's stop fooling ourselves on race*

*Francis Donlan*

ATTEMPTS AT DISCUSSING racial problems in this country often run into a number of roadblocks in the shape of stereotype opinions which stand between the mind and a clear view of the problems. The net result is to make it easy for a person to believe that all campaigns for interracial justice are sparked only by crackpots or Reds, that everything is fine on the racial front, that the problems will solve themselves, etc. In short, these stereotype opinions make it easy to fool oneself on the race question. Let us look at a few of them more closely.

We know that Communists are ever ready to stir up strife and emphasize frictions between various groups in the community when it suits their purposes. We also know that the race question in the United States is a favorite Communist theme. Their demands for interracial justice are incessant, vociferous—and insincere. But every proposal for interracial justice is not communistic simply because the Communists, for their own sinister motives, agitate for it. If the Communists advocate a Fair Employment Practice bill, it does not follow that the bill was inspired by Moscow. If the Communists denounce a court decision or a jury's verdict as unjust, that does not prove that either was just. In fact, it proves nothing whatever except that it suits the Communists to raise an outcry over the matter.

### "BENEFITS" OF SEGREGATION

Another attitude which is not uncommon. Some people maintain that segregation is best for the Negro. They would never support it if it were not for the Negro's own good. "Why, look at the progress the Negro has made under segregation. There is no race

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in the history of the world which has made the progress the Negro has made in the last eighty years. And this on account of segregation."

It would be hard to convince these individuals that the admitted progress in race relations was accomplished *despite* the injustices and discrimination of segregation. The Negro was exposed to the cultural, industrial, artistic and scientific advances made in America, and profited thereby. It is true he would never have made this progress in central Africa. But to describe segregation as contributing to the Negro's rapid progress in this country is to ignore the real factors involved. The Negro's greatest advance was in those fields where segregation placed the fewest hurdles. That he surmounted the barriers is no tribute to the barriers but merely to the Negro himself.

You will hear it said that the North treats Negroes with equality as a race but harshly as individuals; while the South may be severe on Negroes as a race, but treats them most kindly as individuals. This kindness they speak of is a brand of paternalism which will be readily bestowed on the Southern Negro—provided, of course, that he "keeps his place." But there is nothing a person cherishes more than his human freedom and dignity. Take these away and it makes little difference whether you treat him kindly or coldly. When a white person admits that he treats Negroes harshly as a race, he admits he is denying basic equality to the Negro as a Negro. No amount of paternalism will undo that injustice.

There is little doubt that behind much of the philanthropy for the Negro remains the desire to perpetuate segregation. Whites will contribute very generously to a drive for a Negro hospital, but with a very mixed motive. They want to help the sick, but on the other hand they are not anxious to have the sick Negro in their white hospital. So the "true friends" of the Negro will help him build his own hospital. They will help him build his own school, no matter how many millions in taxes the dual school system may cost.

Many of us are glad to see the Negro join the true Church—but in his own separate parish, so we will not have to kneel beside him in the house of God. Such a stalwart Christian spirit must overwhelm the average Negro.

#### GHETTOES: NORTH AND SOUTH

The undaunted son of Southern *mores* points to the Northern ghettos and feels that Southern shacks compare favorably with Harlem tenements. The ghettos of New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia should not be condoned, but they are social phenomena that sprang from many causes. You will find German, Scandinavian, Polish, Italian, Irish, Jewish, Chinese, Spanish and Slavic neighborhoods. These arose because immigrant peoples preferred to live among people with whom they had more in common. There was a degree of compulsion, but in general this mode of residential segregation was self-imposed. Was it not natural that

the Negro would follow this same pattern? So Harlem grew. This is not to maintain that the Harlems are a result of voluntary segregation, but merely to state that they fit into a pattern where "voluntary ghettos" were a natural phenomenon.

While Negroes in the South undoubtedly also prefer to live together, provided they can rent or purchase a decent home, the Southern ghetto can in no sense be called self-imposed. There was no Southern city which did not have its residential segregation ordinance, with the familiar words: "The section of said city into which colored persons are herein forbidden to move or occupy, being used or occupied by white persons as herein set forth, shall be deemed a 'white section' for the purpose of this law." The Negro was legally compelled to live apart. The Supreme Court decided in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917) that such ordinances were a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. But for all practical purposes the laws remained on the books, continued to be enforced. When subsequent decisions, between 1927 and 1940, made it impossible to maintain the illegal ordinances any longer, the restrictive covenant became a subterfuge whereby segregation continued to be practised. Although these covenants, since the Supreme Court's decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), are no longer legally enforceable, they retain their binding force by the mutual agreement of little minds, whether Northern or Southern.

The Northern Negro may take a long walk outside his neighborhood and not go hungry. He does not have to endure the Monday-through-Saturday westerns of the nearby Negro theatre. If the only seat on a bus is in the third row, he need not stand while he rides to work. He can sit on either side of almost any rope he may see at a public meeting. He is not obliged to check the ancestry of his prospective sons-in-law to make sure there is the necessary strain of "Negro blood" required by law. There is at least some opportunity for him to push a pencil rather than a mop.

Those who would maintain the North is just as bad as the South in its treatment of the Negro should ask the Northern Negro if he would prefer to live in the South and enjoy the benefits of segregation. Some people like to point to the millions of Negroes who remain in the South. "Certainly they would move north if they thought it was better." The fact is that there has been mass migration to the cities of the North. How fast must a people move to demonstrate a point? There are other considerations, too. Many live with a hope for a new and just order at least for their children to enjoy. Nor can it be overlooked that the uprooting of a family from its home soil is a major endeavor, which most cannot financially undertake.

However, it is an error to portray a stereotype Southerner just as it is a mistake to portray a stereotype Negro. Racial hatred or prejudice exists only in those persons who are guilty of such. One must not overlook the work being done by intelligent Christian-minded Southerners to secure full justice for the Negro. But as long as there are unjust laws on the books, and these

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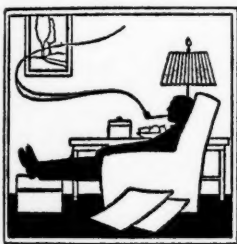
laws are retained by the majority of the people, universal opinion will maintain that the Southern people, as a matter of public policy, foster racial injustice.

This is all grist for the Communist mill. The true principles of democracy can never be implemented by undemocratic laws. How can America preach to the world that communism is tyrannical, when a form of tyranny has the sanction of law at home? Does tyranny of the majority differ in any basic sense from the tyranny of a few?

The extreme "gradualists" who expect that time will solve all the problems may have good intentions. But a solution which will be effected in the year 2053 is of little benefit to America in the world of 1953. The non-Caucasian nations of the world, which comprise two-thirds of the earth's population, understand the universal sign-language of action.

It is not disloyal, nor is it communistic to advocate interracial justice, even in the present crisis. Those who would tone down human rights because we cannot endanger so-called national unity are unmindful that racial discrimination is already a source of national disunity, a serious threat to a concerted defense effort, and an ignoring of world opinion. Let us stop fooling ourselves.

## FEATURE "X"



Mrs. Rowland, who has previously written for AMERICA (9/20/52) on the religious training of young children, here describes a book, *God's Hour in the Nursery*, which she has found very helpful in her own home.

MY SON MARK is an artist at heart. With great gusto he has crayoned his way through a stack of coloring books which featured pictures of almost every rocket ship, train and fire engine imaginable. Then he colored his way through books about cowboys and Indians, through books about farm animals and zoo animals, through books about television stars and comic-strip characters.

At last he is coloring his way through a book which requires thought and which will teach him eternal truths. For Mark is coloring the pictures in an Activity Book called *God's Hour in the Nursery*. This book is one half of a team; the other half is the Guidance Book which was written by the late Mother Bolton, R.C. They are published by the St. Anthony's Guild Press, Paterson, N. J., and together cost \$2.50.

The late Mother Bolton was aware of a very important fact which seems to escape many secular minds engaged in producing coloring books, reading matter

and shows for small children. She was aware of the fact that a four- or five-year-old child is capable of thinking. She realized that a child is able to take hold of an idea, think about it and make it his own.

In *God's Hour in the Nursery* the child learns the difference between animal life and vegetable life. Then he learns that human life is superior to animal life because a human being has a soul given to him by God. Furthermore this book gives the small child an introduction to prayer, the Church, the commandments and the sacraments. This important body of knowledge is presented so that it is easily understood by a four- or five-year-old and so that the learning is fun.

The Guidance Book is divided into three units. The first unit aims to develop in the pre-school child an understanding that God is the cause of all physical life. There are stories for the mother to read which explain the truths which a pre-school child should know. After the story is concluded, the child turns to the proper page in the Activity Book and colors a picture which illustrates the story. For example: the story on apple trees teaches the child that God gave life to the apple trees. The child learns a rhyme: "I like the apple tree, don't you? God gave it life and then it grew." Then he colors a picture of apple trees.

Other stories in Unit One teach the child to distinguish live from dead plants. Another teaches the child that he and his parents received their lives from God.

Are such stories "over the head" of the average pre-schooler? Absolutely not. Pre-school children today are capable of following the travels and trials of commercial cowboys in pursuit of criminals. They read and hear about jet pilots and supermen. If we can explain a world of crime and cowpunching to them, then certainly we can expect them to understand a few simple and beautifully explained religious truths.

Unit two teaches the child that God has given him more than physical life (like the plants). He has also given him a life of the intellect. Obviously the child is not told "you have an intellectual life," but he learns through stories and pictures that animals cannot think and that he can. For example, there is, in the Activity book, a picture of a horse reading a book and a fish playing the piano. My five-year-old Mark laughed at this picture because he knew that a horse could not read nor a fish play the piano, because they cannot think.

Unit two also introduces the child to prayer, in a story called Talking To God. This is an excellent aid to a mother who wants to teach her pre-schooler the meaning of prayer and do it on his own level. Stories about Choosing are of tremendous value in teaching a small child the importance of choosing to be cheerful, not sulky, kind, not selfish, etc.

The concluding unit aims to "make Jesus, God's own Son, known to the child" and to teach the child about the life he receives in baptism. There are stories about Jesus as the Son of God, Baby Jesus, His Mother,

St. Joseph. These stories help the small child understand Jesus as God-Man and as a member of the Holy Family. Stories about some of Christ's miracles emphasize His divinity.

The difficult problem of how to explain the Crucifixion is well solved by this book. Mark was very sympathetic to Jesus on the Cross and very much impressed when I told him that Jesus forgave the men who crucified Him.

I liked *God's Hour in the Nursery* because it was written in a friendly way that made learning about

God a pleasure, not a task. My son had fun as he became acquainted with his Creator and the Church of which he is a member. What I especially liked was the fact that the child had Jesus held before him as an example and a model of virtues to imitate. It is my hope that with books such as this one, Mark will realize that Christ's virtues of kindness and goodness and forgiveness are far more desirable than the so-called virtues of strength and cunning, which seem to be displayed by so many comic-strip characters and movie heroes.

VIRGINIA ROHR ROWLAND

## *Taste and tradition in sacred music*

*Francis J. Guentner, S.J.*

In literature and art, where the number of ideas expressed is almost infinite and the form of expression practically boundless, one is perhaps not surprised to find wide divergence of taste. But even in a domain so restricted as that of sacred music, esthetic experience is so varied that one despairs in our country of finding more than a minority who share common ideals and fervent hopes. Indeed sacred music has fallen on such evil days that the majority of American Catholics have never even considered that they *ought* to have some standard of taste in its regard.

Alfred Einstein, apropos of the Romantic era in music, makes the statement that "in the course of eighteen centuries the Church has never made an attempt to fetter church music." In its strictest sense this claim is true. But on the other hand, the Holy See has intermittently provided directives for both composers and performers in the hope that the unworthy might be eliminated from the sacred choral repertoire, and encouragement given to music truly worthy of the temple of God.

From the early days of the Church, as the rites took form, music gradually became an integrated part of the service; it was not a mere appendage, but functioned as a method of vocal prayer. The writings of the Church Fathers and the declarations of the early provincial councils are witness to the hopes and fears which occupied the minds of ecclesiastical authorities as they beheld music assuming a distinctive and ever-increasing role. During the later patristic era and the centuries that succeeded it, the corpus of song which we know as Gregorian chant was gradually evolved—a treasury of melody which is as beautiful as its history is problematic. Since the development of chant was part and parcel of the development of the liturgy, this music has always claimed the honor of being the sacred music par excellence.

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

By the beginning of the high Middle Ages, Gregorian art had all but disintegrated. Contemporaneously with the final period during which it flourished, a new approach to music was developed, an approach which to us goes by the general name of harmony. It was natural that the inventors of harmony should at first build their music upon Gregorian melodies already existent. But as time passed, new melodies were devised and given a place in the sacred services alongside the traditional ones. The Holy See, in the person of the energetic and controversial John XXII, thought such a practice blameworthy, so from Avignon in 1324 went out a clear warning to certain composers who were creating new melodies rather than singing the old ones, and were concealing the plainchant melodies by means of ornamental devices. "These musicians run without pausing, they intoxicate the ear without satisfying it, they dramatize the text with gestures, and instead of promoting devotion, they prevent it by creating a sensuous and indecent atmosphere." Historians have observed that this was the judgment of an older man who evidently had little sympathy with the rapid advances music was then making in restless France. To what extent this decree influenced contemporary music is a question which I believe music historians have not yet settled in detail. From all appearances, however, no lasting attention was paid to it by the progressive composers.

The next important intervention of the Church in matters musical was in 1562 at the Council of Trent. In days gone by a tremendous fantasy was fabricated

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about the musical abuses of the time: church music was said to have come to such a pass that nothing but a complete abolition of every musical tone from the sacred services would do. The spirit of reform was in the air at Trent, of course, and behind the scenes there was much discussion by the representatives present. Essentially the question was similar to the one that vexed John XXII: what type of melody should be permitted in Church, and what was to be thought of the polyphonic style? When the decree was finally drawn up, it was couched in very general terms—so general, in fact, that one must read the documents, letters and reports of the period in order to find out what the controversy was all about. With regard to the quality of the music to be used in church, we are told merely that anything of a “sensuous or impure character” is forbidden.

Leichtentritt has shown that Kerle, Palestrina, Animuccia, to name a few, “did their best to prove that the art of polyphony was not incompatible with the demands of an ideal church music.” While it cannot be said that the decree of Trent was directly responsible for the great masterpieces that were produced in the following decades—for it appears that few if any of the first-rank composers considered it necessary to change their styles radically in order to conform to the legislation—still, from our vantage point one can see that the stand of the Church was definitely on the side of sacred art and good taste as well as of ecclesiastical decorum.

For us of the twentieth century, accustomed to a clear dichotomy between profane and sacred music, it is hard to realize that formerly in the mind of composers—even quite as recent as those of the Classical period—the art of music was one and indivisible. Your composer had no split personality which dictated that he develop one style on weekdays for his madrigals or operas or symphonies, and another idiom on Sundays for his Masses and vespers. His occupation was to compose music *simpliciter*. Any advances made in the creation of secular music were forthwith integrated into the composition of sacred music, and vice versa. For this reason a church composition was considered as important and as worthy of effort as any secular form of music. Hence, also, the leading composers of secular musical art were as often as not in the vanguard of sacred composition. The point is this: Trent did not divide the allegiance of the musician, prescribing one mode of composition for church and one for the entertainment hall. Trent did not call into being a form called “church music.”

However, during the three centuries following the Renaissance, in the periods that have conventionally been named the Baroque, Classical and Romantic eras, occasional directives originating in Rome served to show that Church authorities were not only well aware

of the advances being made in musical invention, but were also becoming increasingly conscious of the impropriety of certain types of song, which were considered *profane* and *indecorous*. Gradually, too, restrictions were made against the use of certain instruments, especially the percussion family, and others that fell under the heading of “noisy.” One can hardly escape the conclusion that contemporary idioms were merely being tolerated in church.

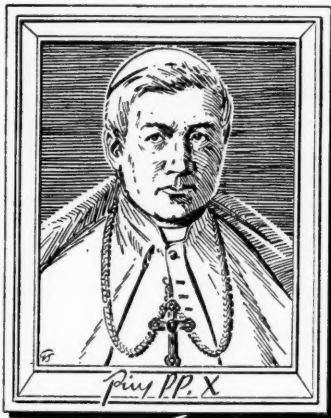
As the nineteenth century progressed and interest in Renaissance music was rekindled, a certain nostalgia for the days of old set in, and the feeling got abroad that there indeed was to be found *the* sacred harmonic

style. In comparison to this style, the sacred compositions of the Classical period seemed downright profane, and the Romantic masses (“those founts of toilet-water,” in Huysmans’ forceful description) were adjudged almost impure. But an unfortunate conclusion was deduced: that one must return to the sixteenth-century style in order to write worthy and proper church music. It is evident that such a philosophy could lead only to artificiality and archaism—as indeed it did. Reams of music began to pour from the presses of Germany and Bavaria, later from Italy and other European centers, and

from our own country—“church music” we call it—and it is this music that is still the staple of countless choirs the world over. Like any product which is an imitation of lost art, it is often tasteless.

By the beginning of our own century, the world of music was in a ferment. For one thing, the publication of authentic Gregorian chant had aroused unusual interest in the musical culture of the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, and for another, progressive thinkers and composers had come to the conclusion that the entire Romantic approach to music was at a dead end. The trend, in other words, was in favor of a better understanding of the more distant past, and of a definite change for the immediate future. Amid such a setting Blessed Pius X issued his *Motu Proprio* on November 22, 1903.

The Instruction is quite certainly the most important document relative to sacred music that ever emanated from Rome, and its repercussions have in a very true sense been world-wide. In a clear and orderly manner it gives the ABC’s of the philosophy of sacred music: why music is used in church and what its qualities should be. Criticism of the new program was immediately forthcoming—as doubtless was to be expected—and for a number of years the atmosphere was clouded with facetious and at times irrational argument. Whether the ideal envisioned by the Pontiff will ever see actuality is perhaps debatable. But the essential rightness of his viewpoint can be questioned only by those who have never seriously come to grips with the problems involved.





In any discussion of the *Motu Proprio*, it must be remembered that the document, like the decrees of John XXII and the reform of Trent, is primarily an *ad hoc* piece of legislation, intended to meet what the Pope considered the main abuses in church music during the last century. As such, it is not and was not intended to be infallible. Inasmuch as the role of music in the liturgy has undergone innumerable changes since the first Mass was said, it is not inconceivable that its role may in a future age change again. Musicological research had by the beginning of this century revealed that the authentic chant and polyphonic settings of the liturgical words breathed a prayerfulness that was felt to border on the mystical. It was natural for the Pope to choose such styles as eminently becoming to the house of God.

And yet, as Anthony Milner, a British critic, pointed out in the London *Tablet* some time ago:

Two statements in the *Motu Proprio* have been the source of much trouble. The first assumes that Palestrina's style is especially suited for association with Gregorian chant; this is erroneous, as there are at least half-a-dozen other styles for which this claim could be made, though in the state of musicology at that time nobody could have made this assertion with sufficient weight. The second statement avers that after Gregorian chant the Palestrina style is the most exalted and should be preferred to any other. The Holy Pontiff can never have intended the narrow literalism with which this has been interpreted.

And he goes on to mention that the great ecclesiastical compositions of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries are neglected because of this short-sighted interpretation of the document.

### Business conscience

#### SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE BUSINESSMAN

By Howard R. Bowen. Harper. 259p. \$3.50

Dozens of topflight U. S. businessmen now readily admit that management has social responsibilities which go beyond the duty of making a profit for the stockholders. To the old ethical rules of laissez-faire capitalism—respect for property rights, fidelity to contracts, avoidance of deception and fraud, and several others, such as the duty to compete, more honored in the breach than in the observance—the advocates of the “new capitalism” add an ill-defined number of new duties touching the relationship of management to suppliers, workers, consumers and the community in general. This heartening change in business thinking, which is not as widespread as one might desire, is the subject of Dr. Bowen's book, and I should like to say right here in the beginning that

no other writer known to this reviewer has done the job so well.

Behind the shift in business thinking in this country lies a pronounced change in public opinion. Our people have come to demand of businessmen—especially since the depression—that they consciously direct the economic system toward a number of goals not insisted on by our ancestors. Some of these demands have been written into law and limit the profit-making proclivities of management in a number of ways. Others still remain within the discretion of businessmen. Enlightened management appreciates that these, too, will become the subject of legislation unless business meets the expectations of the public.

To what extent religion contributed to the formation of a social-minded public opinion may be disputable, but that it did contribute something is clear. For thirty years or more, church leaders in this country have been undermining the fundamental ethical postulate of laissez-faire, namely, that in business affairs, in Dr. Bowen's words, “the self-interest of individu-

Hence it may be said that while the *Motu* was intended to correct and elevate the taste of the faithful, an over-literal interpretation of it has resulted in narrowing the outlook, taste and even esthetic enjoyment of many churchgoers. Perhaps we in America have suffered more than the European nations. Having removed from our repertoires the more offensive exhibitions of the nineteenth-century musicians, we find ourselves, by and large, incompetent to perform either the chant or the classical polyphony with any degree of facility or natural beauty. And so we have endeavored to find a substitute for genuine church music in the archaic and artificial concoctions of countless third-rate composers of the past few generations who, having nothing personal to communicate, have reverted to imitating styles of a bygone era.

Though as Catholics we rightly lay claim to the almost inexhaustible treasures of music that are our heritage, as Americans we are traditionless. The situation can be righted, it appears, in only one way: by making music a much more important and integral part of our educational system. And it is gratifying to note that the necessity of such a grass-roots program is appreciated by a sizable group of lay and religious music teachers who hold close to heart the glory of God. Schools, institutes, conventions, workshops are all a part of the varied but essentially united program that is endeavoring, against seemingly insurmountable odds, to create a higher level of taste.

If this can ever be achieved, we will not only be able to look upon the music of the past and feel that it is a part of us, but we will also be able to assimilate that portion of modern sacred music which is really worthwhile.

## BOOKS

als is an adequate guide to conduct.” In direct opposition to it, they have preached the social, as well as the individual, character of private property; they have insisted that ownership is stewardship; they have defended limited state intervention in economic affairs to protect and advance the common good. Although laissez-faire thinking is by no means dead in this country, enough progress has been made in modifying it to warrant now a more detailed examination into the nature of the social duties of business and the institutional changes which may be necessary to aid business men in discharging them.

In dealing with these questions, Dr. Bowen is at his stimulating best. Among proposals for giving an institutional expression to the social

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duties of business, he instances with respect and commendation the vocational-group approach proposed by Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*. Although he expresses four or five reservations—proponents of the plan can profitably take them into account—Dr. Bowen concludes that the papal program “offers prospective advantages sufficient to warrant modest and tentative experimentation with it.”

Among other possible institutional changes, the author suggests an original scheme which he calls the “social audit.” The idea is simple and appealing. Just as outside accountants are now called in to audit a company’s books and ascertain its financial position, so social scientists might be invited to examine its policies and practices with a view to estimating their social worth. Something like this has been done already, of course, but in a less formal way and in a more restricted field. Generally, such studies as have been made of corporation conduct have dealt exclusively with labor relations. Once the social responsibilities of business have been spelled out and agreed upon, there is no reason why a full social audit could not be made. There might be some difficulty, however, in choosing the auditors.

Dr. Bowen will not take it amiss, I hope, if I say that one of the best parts of the book is the appendix, “Commentary on the Ethical Implications of the Study,” contributed by that clear-thinking, Christian-minded gentleman, Dr. F. Ernest Johnson. His essay shows how close social-minded Protestants and Catholics are in this country in their attitudes toward economic life, and recalls the truth, amply developed by R. H. Tawney in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, that for a century after Luther broke with the Church, the Protestant pulpit in England remained true to the traditional teaching of Christendom on the moral aspects of economic life. This book, the third in a series sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ, suggests that Calvinism in economics is largely *passé* in U. S. Protestantism.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

### The delicate balance

#### FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY IN OUR TIME

Edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, R. M. MacIver and Richard P. McKeon. Harper. 767p. \$6

With this volume, which reproduces the fifty-six papers read at its twelfth Symposium, the “Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion” provides further testimony, were such testimony needed, of its forthright and

honest attitude to present-day problems of an especially thorny sort. The Freedom-Authority dyad is successively considered in practically all the areas of its contemporary manifestation: Government, Labor, Science, Law, Education, the Arts, Religion; the postulates of Freedom-Authority theories are probed into; and philosophic essays are made at defining both the one and the other.

Three of the more or less speculative papers seem of particular relevance as indicative of three fundamental mentalities of our day. That of Nels Ferré, full of overtones of the Swedish theology which has affected his thought so markedly, is an admirable instance of the latter-day Baianism: a supernaturalization of the natural which must logically (did Professor Ferré go that far) conclude with the denial of natural values.

The paper of Edgar Brightman is a synoptic presentation of the obscure and inchoate philosophy of the man in the street who believes the authority of God supremely relevant to the autonomy of man but for whom God is only man writ large. And that, finally, of Sterling Lamprecht is a philosophical expression of the unphilosophic optimism of that large but dwindling segment of American culture for whom God and the supernatural are impertinences.

That these three papers are better expressions of such generic attitudes than they are of their authors’ own more nuanced and integrated philosophic views is an accident, I cannot but feel, not altogether unhappy in its consequences for the Symposium. For pertinent to an understanding of the problem of correlating freedom and authority in our time is the understanding of the variant mentalities of our time, and the contributions of Professors Lamprecht, Ferré and Brightman present three of the most nebulous in excellently assimilable form.

Of more absolute value, perhaps, are the studies herein by Roy Wood Sellars, Gustave Weigel and Dorothy Lee.

The tentative, exploratory and approximative nature of much of this excellent cooperative attempt should not dismay the reader unduly. Prefatory to any basic resolution of so complex a problem must be initial assent to all the distinctive terms of its complexity. These papers, in one way or another, render such an assent more nearly possible.

ELMER O'BRIEN, S.J.

REV. ELMER O'BRIEN, S.J., is professor of dogmatic theology at the Jesuit Seminary, Toronto.

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PERSIA IS MY HEART, by Najmeh Najafi, told to Helen Hinckley (Harper, \$3). The author, daughter of an Iranian diplomat and former adviser of the Shah, tells of her life in Teheran, of her childhood and ambitions, which finally brought her to Columbia University and, later, to the campus of a Southern California school. To Felton O'Toole, S.J., a great deal of the interest of the book lies in the picture of the momentous changes—political, religious and cultural—that the author witnessed during the past quarter of a century. She is commended for the pointed comparisons between the democratic way of life observed in America and the rigid pattern of behavior and traditions of her own country, and also for her consuming but practical interest in the social problems of her land.

## FILMS

STALAG 17 is a combination of rough-house comedy and detective melodrama set in a Nazi prisoner-of-war camp for captured American airmen. The comedy is made up of the inevitable high-jinks of men making the best of being deprived of liberty, occupation and female companionship and being cooped up under conditions of real physical hardship in nerve-jangling proximity to one another. Some of it is far from delicate and some of it, invented by the script writers to replace the even more indelicate situations of the original play, has a warmed-over and derivative look.

The melodrama is concerned with the efforts of the men to discover the identity of a Nazi agent in their midst. Especially does this search take on a life-and-death urgency when the German commandant seems determined to shoot a newly captured flier on a charge of sabotage.

Practically everyone who has reviewed the picture seems to feel that its two plot preoccupations add up to more than I thought they did. Certainly the whole picture, from the direction of Billy Wilder to the performances of an all-male cast including William Holden, Don Taylor, Otto Preminger and several recruits from the Broadway version, has an air of professional competence. To me, however, it seemed sufficiently cynical in tone and contrived in structure to preclude the realism and the affirmation of the resiliency of the human spirit, which adults expect such materials to yield.

(Paramount)

WHITE WITCH DOCTOR is 20th Century-Fox's bid for some of the box office gold yielded by *King Solomon's Mines*. Photographed on location in the Congo, it contains a smaller-scale but nonetheless interesting sample of the wild animal shots and native customs and ceremonials which distinguished its predecessor. It also deals with the same sort of romantic situation, involving an excessively proper Victorian woman (Susan Hayward) and an intrepid, disconcertingly realistic white hunter (Robert Mitchum).

In this case the woman is a widowed nurse who is afflicted by the script writers with some less than admirable psychological motives for taking up the missionary work she had prevented her doctor husband from undertaking. Not to be outdone in the field of pretended virtue, the hunter is escorting her to a remote mission outpost, ostensibly out of sheer altruism, but actually because the trip offers excellent protective coloration for a search for a fabulous gold mine located in the territory of a notoriously unfriendly tribe.

A variety of shared hardships and unforeseen complications, including the armed intervention of the hunter's villainous partner (Walter Slezak), has the entirely foreseeable romantic and regenerative effect on the two principals. The movie, despite its glib and conventional format, has its share of excitement and of authentic sights and sounds for the family.

THE BEAST FROM 20,000 FATHOMS is some species of gargantuan, prehistoric dinosaur, dredged up in an inexplicably (and unexplained) live condition from an arctic icecap by an atomic blast. Pausing in its journey long enough to knock over a light-house and sink a few fishing schooners, it heads with unerring instinct for New York. There, with the aid of some fair-to-middling trick photography, the virtually indestructible monster terrorizes the populace, reduces buildings to a mass of rubble and survives the attempted blitzkrieg of a division of soldiers until, cornered near the Coney Island roller coaster, it is destroyed by a sharp-shooting GI armed with the only atomic grenade this side of Oak Ridge.

This juvenile King Kong-type aggregation of horrors is aimed at the most susceptible and uncritical segment of the moviegoing public, hitting the mark with an accuracy which has set box-office tills all over the country to jingling merrily. It is not, however, recommended to anyone who expects even science-fiction to be administered with a grain of plausibility.

(Warner)

MOIRA WALSH



## THE WORD

*"The kingdom of heaven will not give entrance to every man who calls me Master, Master; only to the man that does the will of my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 7:21; Gospel for seventh Sunday after Pentecost).*

What are the factors in human existence which chiefly contribute to the intricate process of making an individual man the precise kind of man he finally becomes? One thinks immediately of such formative human forces as heredity, environment, education, avocation. One ought to think, in the same connection, about religion. Religion is an obligation and religion is a consolation; but shouldn't religion also exercise a qualifying or formative influence on anyone who believes in it and practices it?

Ought not a man to act differently, at least on many or most occasions, depending on whether he is a pagan or a Presbyterian, a Mormon or a Methodist, a Jew or a Jehovah's Witness, a Calvinist or a Catholic? Above all, should there not be a certain perceptible difference in behavior between a man who, in a religious sense, believes nothing, and a Catholic who, in the same sense, believes a great deal?

We Catholics certainly possess a wide range of religious customs and practices, and the day is long past when we had to be urged not to be ashamed of our Catholic ways, but to walk them openly and boldly. Everyone now knows and expects that the average Catholic goes to Mass, carries and even recites the rosary, sends his children to the parochial school, attends novenas, loves Bingo, and, in Lent, adopts a determined, if confused, attitude toward food. Can a kindly and sincere non-Catholic be blamed if he sometimes wonders aloud exactly what all this finally does for his Catholic neighbor in the extremely simple sense of making him a better man?

There is the Catholic in public life who is a thief, a liar and a protector of crime. Everyone knows that this character is a hoodlum, but everyone knows also that he is a Holy Name man. He ought to be living on bread and water, but he occasionally partakes of the Body and Blood of Christ. He should be sitting behind bars, but apparently he gets no closer than kneeling behind a confessional screen. He is an enemy of the people, but he is a friend of the pastor. At all this

the good non-Catholic marvels. In a very different sense, many an earnest Catholic marvels, too. He marvels that those outside the household of the faith are as patient and as tolerant as they are toward some of the goings-on inside.

Those strange goings-on are not confined to Catholic men, either. Catholic women are even more prayerful than their menfolk, and are certainly more given to novenas and processions and such-like. Often enough, however, these devotions do

not prevent a Catholic woman, when provoked, from adopting a systematic program of vindictive cruelty and spiteful slander that would horrify an Amazon. Catholic young people will sometimes appear to be quite impressively Catholic, barring only a somewhat cynical and pagan attitude toward sex.

The explanation of such contradictory Catholicism has long been known and has often been expounded. It is the destructive notion of the departmentalization of life. I am Catholic



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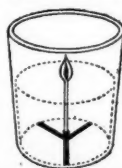
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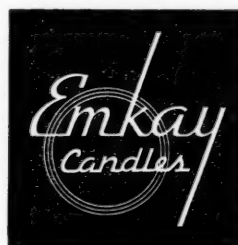
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in my prayers, but not in my politics. I am Catholic toward the Mass, but not toward the masses. I am Catholic in my heart, but not in my heartlessness. All my words are fragrant of Catholicism; it is only my deeds that betray my waywardness. "Well," Christ seems to say grimly in today's Gospel, "about the sayers who are not doers—we shall see."

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

## THEATRE

THE IMPORTANT SEASON. Although television has been blamed for the falling attendance at prizefights, baseball games and motion pictures, it has had no appreciable effect on the Broadway box office. The reason is obvious. The imaginative audience that laughs its collective head off at the antics of Melvyn Douglas in *Time Out for Ginger* would be bored stiff by the "Show of Shows."

The managers of some summer theatres, however, believe that TV is becoming a serious competitor. They feel that TV is striking at their business from two directions, depriving them of the services of popular Broadway and Hollywood stars and simultaneously weaning away their quondam audience. Many of the stars who attracted customers to the rural playhouses are no longer available because of TV commitments. Their fans, who were willing to drive many miles to see them, not to mention paying the fee at the ticket window, can now see their idols, along with such TV luminaries as Milton Berle and Lucille Ball, merely by turning a knob.

The managers of the country theatres seem to have a problem. Perhaps they are exaggerating its seriousness. Let's hope that they are. Still, the threat is too palpable to be dismissed with a shrug.

Most of us, when we mention the theatrical season, have in mind the nine-month period from the first of September to the end of May. Actually, that is only the Broadway, the fashionable season. The time when the theatre is most alive, when most plays are in production and the maximum of actors is employed, is the ten-week period between the first of July and Labor Day.

Compared with less than fifty theatres open in New York during the "regular" season, there are 125 summer theatres that operate under Equity contracts, most of them in thirteen Eastern States. Of the 4,800 members of Equity who appeared in

productions last season, 3,000 were employed in the country theatres. The peak weeks of employment showed 1,079 in the winter season, 1,940 in the summer.

Last year the average income of actors, earned by working at their profession, was \$825. It is obvious that without the summer work the average income of actors would be much lower, and might even sink to the ridiculous \$335 earned by a fourth of the employed actors last year.

Something more important than the pay checks of actors, however, is involved in the prosperity of the country theatres. The continued vitality of our stage is at stake. The country managers, by producing a wide variety of plays, from *Macbeth* and *Lute Song* to *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* and *Three Men on a Horse*, provide young actors with opportunities to develop their talent by portraying diverse types of character in various styles and categories of drama. The summer theatres are the finishing schools of the American stage.

If TV is threatening to cripple the summer theatres, it is also destroying the nursery of exacting talent, and at the same time committing slow suicide. TV must recruit its "names" from Broadway and Hollywood. The summer theatres are the incubators of names.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## TV—RADIO

There is an unfounded rumor that John Daly, one of the busiest of the many Masters of Ceremonies in TV, is considering adopting as his motto, "Moderation in All Things."

Whatever the phrase that graces his escutcheon, it is generally agreed that Mr. Daly possesses the proper combination of attributes that make for success as a video moderator. He does well all the things a moderator should do. He can handle either light or serious programs. He puts both guests and panelists at ease. He has a personality that "comes across" pleasantly. He maintains control of discussion while he remains politely neutral. He is always properly prepared with information about his guests and subjects. He keeps a show moving and handles its timing well. And he is never at a loss for words.

All of these things we may expect from a professional TV moderator; but usually we have to be satisfied with a less-than-perfect performance. If you ask Mr. Daly what a moderator's principal job is, he'll tell you: "It's to get

as much good talk as you can out of the people on the show." This is basic, of course, and underlies the popularity of the panel program. Almost without exception, viewers enjoy "good talk." But evidently the moderators on TV equipped to stimulate interesting conversations and to keep it within designated channels are few and far between.

In the "light" category of panel programs, it is common practice to cast a comedian in the role of moderator. If the format of the program allows the comedian opportunity to display his own brand of wit, this may prove successful; in such cases he is performing rather than moderating. Thus a Groucho Marx may "shine" when his contestants' backgrounds are known to him beforehand. A Herb Shriner may take time to spin tales of the Hoosier State which have little or nothing to do with the questions to be asked participants. Among the few top entertainers who can fit easily into a quiz or panel show as moderator and bring to it easy wit, proper pacing and control are Robert Q. Lewis, Steve Allen, Garry Moore and Walter Kiernan.

Comedian Jack Paar has recently appeared on the air as emcee of a program titled "Bank On The Stars," in which contestants watch brief scenes from recent movies and then are required to answer questions about the sequence shown. In his interviews with guests and in his questioning of them, it seems to me, Mr. Paar demonstrates that he is unsuited to this type of program. As a stand-up "single" monologist he has been and, I am sure, will continue to be, highly amusing. As a moderator he is unsure, unfunny and unentertaining.

On another program, this one a returning panel show titled "Masquerade Party," newscaster Douglas Edwards tries his hand as a moderator with just as undistinguished results. He isn't bad, you understand, and he isn't good. He's just mediocre. The mediocrity is emphasized by the fact that the program's panel includes Peter Donald, an experienced comic-actor-dialectician who has in his time displayed outstanding talent as a moderator.

When a panel program deals with a serious topic, there is always a danger that the moderator may be either so ponderous in manner as to drag down and smother any possible interest in the show or so subjective in his approach as to make the discussion unbalanced and prejudicial. Whether the material under consideration is a book, politics, civic improvement or social conditions, fairness dictates that proponents of conflicting views be given equal voice. If the moderator

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enters the argument definitely on one side in opposition to the other, or if he makes unfair use of his authority to curb unduly the utterances of the side with which he disagrees, the result is a slanted program which loses its value as a public service.

Although male television moderators occasionally may be guilty of a lack of objectivity, the failing is more often apparent, for some reason, in the female of the species. A notable exception to this generalization is Martha Rountree, moderator and co-producer (with Lawrence Spivak) of "Meet The Press." You may or may not cotton to her Southern accent, but you must admit that her own opinions are usually shelved as she presides. It is obvious that Miss Rountree is careful not to become personally involved. She is on hand to put on a good show, to help the newspaper men who participate ferret out the information they want from the guest of the week. When the queries and answers are interesting and the show is moving along rapidly, she often remains in the background.

By way of contrast, I would cite the "Author Meets the Critics" program. John K. M. McCaffery, I believe, was the last moderator who honestly can be said to have "moderated" this telecast war of words. He brought intelligence, good manners and authority to the middle seat.

Following Mr. McCaffery, Miss Faye Emerson was left wringing her hands in the moderator's chair while critics and authors tore each other apart. Viewers got the impression that she would have liked to have pitched in and taken sides, but unfortunately she seldom could succeed in making herself heard in the Donnybrook Fairs that ensued.

Virgilia Peterson, the program's most recent interlocutor, is entirely different but hardly better. Reportedly, she was named after the wife in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* whose husband refers to her as "my gracious silence." The resemblance ends with the name, for Miss Peterson is seldom silent and often loses her gracious manner when a panel member attempts to propound views with which she disagrees. In such a case, she has been known to cut off the panelist in question and to summarize with a few slanted comments of her own. The producers of "Author Meets The Critics" should have known in advance of Miss Peterson's penchant for partiality; she displayed it nightly when she presided over a previous discussion show on the Dumont network.

Unfortunately for TV, precious few of its moderators are in the same class as John Daly.

WILLIAM A. COLEMAN

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### Chaplain "shortage"

EDITOR: In the April 18 issue of AMERICA, under "Current Comment" (p. 65), I noticed the following statement: "The established quota for Catholic chaplains in the Army and Air Force is far from being filled. A really serious situation exists in our major indoctrination and training centers in this country."

This serious situation could easily be remedied by the Army or the Air Force if they would adopt a reasonable policy. There are many reserve chaplains who are willing and able to work in camps in the United States. They are in the Officers Reserve Corps, and many are held fit for general service, but rejected for active duty now. The reason given is "over age in grade."

The reserve officers know that this is nonsense. They could competently take care of the duties of chaplain in many military installations in the United States, and probably in some outside of the continental United States.

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### Reds in India

EDITOR: I read with interest the article by Prem Kumar, "Will India fall to the Communists?" in your June 20 issue. Mr. Kumar speaks of "the spectacular election success of the Communist party in South India." I come from that part of India, where I ran for office during the last general elections and lost to a Communist opponent.

It is true that the Communists did make some appreciable headway in parts of India, particularly in the south—Madras, Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin. Yet they have today only a very small but noisy group of 26 in the nation's Parliament of 486 members. As Mr. Kumar points out, they very much hoped to spread their sway over the whole of India from the "Red pockets" of the south. But subsequent events show that they are losing their hold even on these pockets. A few months after the general elections, county elections came off in Madras and Travancore-Cochin in which the Communists lost very heavily. In May my own State (Travancore-Cochin) held municipal elections in which the Communists suffered overwhelming defeat everywhere save in one town. Though the

results of the local elections cannot be considered as proof positive of the strength of one party or the weakness of another, they do nevertheless afford an indication of which way the wind is blowing.

The author stresses the need for constructive plans, particularly in the social and economic fields. The Five Year Plan recently sponsored by the Nehru Government is a bold step in this direction. The Government is today embarking on necessary legislation to break up the old feudal system of land tenure. Some of the State Governments have already taken effective measures aimed at spreading ownership of land.

Thus India promises much for the future. But as long as the present economic crisis continues there, the Communists will have a fertile field for their propaganda.

GEORGE K. ALAPAT

St. Louis, Mo.

### Helping the family

EDITOR: I am very much in accord with the article by Edward J. Brady in your June 13 issue, "Corporations, yes; families, no." I think a copy of this article should be sent to all of our U. S. Senators and, if it didn't cost too much, to the Congressmen in the lower house as well.

It seems to me that everybody, including chambers of commerce, local governments, State governments and the National Government, make policies without any concern about the way in which the policies affect families. Somehow or other we seem to think that the only important thing in life is how to make a dollar.

I am not averse to anybody making a dollar who can, but I am averse to the almost blind ignorance of many of our legislators as to the effect of their policies upon family life in this country. In campaign speeches they extol the family as the cradle of democracy. The family may be the cradle of democracy, but it can also be the cradle of hypocrisy and crime, of delinquency, of sordidness. Unless somehow or other we can give support to the family and help make it a real cradle of democracy, we aren't going to have an American democratic civilization very long.

ROBERT G. FOSTER

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